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So in all the other stories—they all have their tale of sea venture. Or take the question asked of seafarers when they arrive unheralded, “Are you merchants or pirates?” Does not that include in itself a comprehensive picture of life in Homeric Greece? Piracy is no doubt regrettable, but at least it is the very acme of maritime adventure.

But I cannot dwell at more length on so well-worn a theme. I will only point to one remark of Mr. Maury’s—“Homer is consistent: No ship is portrayed upon the Shield of Achilles.” The point has of course been taken before, but in the exactly opposite sense. The omission, it is always said, is in such glaring contradiction to the whole picture of Homeric life that we must suppose Homer to have been describing some foreign work of art fabricated by people who knew not the sea.

And there I fear that I must leave the point at issue to the judgment of others. To me, Homer is full of the sea; his men are bold adventurers; if they are able to conduct a naval expedition to the mouth of the Hellespont and overthrow a fortress there, they are men to whom it would be a trifle to work their way up the narrow seas until they opened a new world in the Euxine. If they were men who were content to stay on the mainland of Greece and till the soil without troubling about the sea except under compulsion, then they must have lived under economic conditions which have never been found again in Greece in all history, and at which, considering the nature of the land, I cannot even guess.

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#### THE LEAF-RAMSAY THEORY OF THE TROJAN WAR

I am indebted to Mr. Leaf, who has sent me his copy of the *Classical Journal* for April, 1917, with an article by Mr. C. A. Maury on “The Leaf-Ramsay Theory of the Trojan War.” I understand from Dr. Leaf’s letter that he has sent some reply to this article. I wish to mention that the title might seem to imply co-operation between Dr. Leaf and myself, which is not the case; and I venture to add a few brief notes. But in the first place let me welcome Mr. Maury to the pages of the *Classical Journal*. He is in himself a proof of what I have always maintained, that the study of Greek is strong enough to stand and to exercise a wide influence without extraneous support. For maintaining this and for standing apart from classical defense associations and societies, on the ground that they are signs of weakness rather than of strength, I have been for forty years regarded by many enthusiastic and well-meaning classicists as a traitor to the cause of the classics and as an outlaw. My view, I am glad to say, is not now quite so much abominated in classical circles of Great Britain as it was forty years ago, or even twenty years ago.

1. I have long held, and gave lectures on the subject thirty years ago, that the discovery of the Black Sea played as great a part in the development of early Greek history and Greek ideals as the discovery of America has played in the history of modern Europe, and Mr. Maury quotes three sentences from an article of mine which appeared in the *Classical Review*, 1904, p. 165, emphasizing that; but this general statement does not justify Mr. Maury's title. Dr. Leaf has his own theory, which was published before I knew anything about it or had ever spoken a word to Dr. Leaf on the subject. The causes which led to the gradual growth of the great story of the Trojan War and ultimately to the composition of the greatest of all epic poems by a Greek poet are many and complex. Dr. Leaf differs from me in laying less stress on those religious elements which necessarily played a great part in producing the growth of Greek mythology and national tradition, and in so far as he notices the religious elements it is to set aside that on which I would lay most stress. This I mention merely to show that there is no "Leaf-Ramsay theory of the Trojan War."

2. Mr. Maury deals with history in the high and "fearless old fashion," which saw in it only the exploits of princes and knights and great warriors, but I doubt whether modern students of history would think it so easy as he does to multiply instances of "non-economic wars." I wonder whether he would class the present great war as "non-economic," because there is a certain chivalry in the defense of Belgium by other powers.

3. I cannot agree with Mr. Maury that there is no evidence of any Greek navigation in the Black Sea until the eighth century, when the Greek colonies were multiplied round the coasts of the Black Sea; for the work of colonization represents an advanced stage in the navigation of the Black Sea. The Greeks did not sail away, either with or without wives and children, to plant cities on the coasts of a hitherto untraversed, and to them very dangerous, sea. The foundation of the colonies implies centuries of previous navigation and trade, just as the foundation of colonies in Sicily and Magna Graecia implies that long series of voyages to the West which form the basis on which grew the story of the wanderings of Ulysses, destined to be made by a great poet into the *Odyssey*.

4. There is much to say about the real meaning of Greek mythology in its truest and earliest stages, when it embalmed history and religion and sociology and scientific speculation and international law. A great poet worked up all these into the Homeric poems, which are imperishable in the education of the world, because they are built upon that national store and foundation of ideas and ideals. Some will reply that there is no scientific speculation and no international law in the *Iliad*. Why, the *Iliad* rests on them. But on this it is not possible here to speak. At one time I hoped to express my views in two courses of lectures at Yale in 1915-17; but the war, with the demands that it makes on the work and time of all men, has made it impossible to go across the Atlantic.

5. One illustration is added, to which for many years I have vainly tried to make the Greek scholars attend by reiterated expositions. Even the dullest and least intellectual of all conquering races in Asia Minor has felt the need

to express in a prose epic of somewhat humble literary quality the national claims to moral justification in its conquest, for mere conquest gives no moral or legal right to a land. I refer to the Turks, who have made their hero, not a Turk, but an Arab, not a conqueror, but a leader defeated on a raid in 739 A.D., who was killed in the defeat and buried in an unknown grave or left to rot on the surface. By his death he consecrated the right of his coreligionists to possess the land in which he lay. He perished more than three centuries before any Turkish army had ever entered the country. The Turks themselves had no knowledge of his name or history, but there must have been gradually growing a legend which took him as the hero of Islam in Asia Minor. His grave is shown in a great building 60 or 80 miles nearer Constantinople than the field where he was defeated. There is hardly any historical truth in the details that are told about him; and yet there is ideal truth of a remarkable kind. Beside him lies the Christian princess whom he married, and through whom as the heiress he became the legitimate inheritor of the land where he lies. The old Anatolian feeling that the right of inheritance passed in the female line is enshrined in this epic legend. Although that legal and moral conception had been apparently extirpated by thousands of years of Greek and Roman and Christian domination, yet it expresses itself in this popular Anatolian legend as strongly as if it had never been proscribed by more advanced forms of civilization. The circumstances imply life and vigor during more than three centuries of a name and a history of which no trace has been preserved in written literature. So it is with the settlement of the Black Sea. Ideas of which Agamemnon did not dream are enshrined in his story.

6. Though Black Sea adventure plays practically no part in the *Iliad*, yet it must be remembered that the *Iliad* is only a fragment taken out of the tale of Troy by a great poet for his own purposes. To understand the *Iliad* you must have in mind always this fact, and remember the whole tale of which it is a part. Under and behind the *Iliad* is that vast basis of history and religion and adventure and voyage and trade and war; what is not said, but merely assumed, in the *Iliad* is in some respects more important than the written words of the poem; but the events of a few days in the tale of Troy found a poet.

In Mr. Maury's notes I miss any conception of this great store of the unexpressed Greek national consciousness. He seems to have read, if I may venture to make a remark on method, too much German and imitation-German criticism, and to have studied too little the real factors which make national life.

W. M. RAMSAY

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[In one of the last letters I had from Andrew Lang he lamented the fact that his most vigorous attacks on the position of the enemy never drew their fire and that he had never had the satisfaction of withstanding an assault on any part of his works. Mr. Maury labors under no such sorrow, and he is to be congratulated in having attracted the attention of these eminent scholars.]

JOHN A. SCOTT